

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
LIBRARY EXTENSION PUBLICATION

VOL. IX

OCTOBER, 1942

NO. 1

SOME LEADERS OF THE WORLD AT WAR

ELEANOR SMITH GODFREY
AND
JAMES LOGAN GODFREY



THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS
CHAPEL HILL

MCMXLII

STUDY OUTLINES: EXTENSION BULLETINS

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Single Copies, 50 cents; in North Carolina, 25 cents.

University Extension Library
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ELEANOR SMITH GODFREY

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JAMES LOGAN GODFREY

*of the Department of History
of the University of North Carolina*



*Published six times a year, October, January, April, May, June, and July,
by the University of North Carolina Press. Entered as second-class
matter February 5, 1926, under the act of August 24, 1912.
Chapel Hill, N. C.*

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Single copies, 50 cents each; in North Carolina, 25 cents.

Advance subscription per volume, \$2.00; to residents of North Carolina, \$1.00. Copies sent on approval.

VOLUME IX

1. October, 1942. *Some Leaders of the World at War.* E. S. & J. L. Godfrey.

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CHAPTER I

ADOLF HITLER

The world today is more completely divided into two camps on the question of a man and the philosophy for which he stands than ever before in its history. The man is Adolf Hitler; the philosophy is usually described by the word "Nazism." No man before him could have been a world wide symbol to the same degree because only in our generation has the world become so completely one that it could respond to a common symbol. For the same reason no revolutionary movement has ever before presented its challenge on a world wide stage.

An understanding of Hitler becomes an imperative duty of every citizen of this country. No one can deny his dynamic qualities, his skill in leadership, nor the incisive intelligence he has often shown in the exploitation of advantage. To deny these elements of greatness is to lack a true understanding of the danger he threatens. But along with this admission of his ability must go also some understanding of his warped personality, his frustrations and rages, his messianic outlook upon the world, and his sustained capacity for fanaticism. For us there can be no doubt that the genius of Hitler is an evil genius, nor can we escape the responsibility of understanding the nature of that evil if we are to conquer it.

Many books have been written about the Hitler movement, but very few of these have been biographical in character. Among these few Konrad Heiden's *Hitler* is in several ways the best. Unfortunately the account comes only to 1935, but by that time the pattern of his life was definitely set. After that time there was no longer an opportunity for separating the life of Hitler from the history of Germany.

One caution remains. The reader must despair of understanding Hitler in terms of his own experience or in those of our culture. Comprehension will in large measure depend upon some appreciation of the German environment in which Hitler worked.

1. FROM BRAUNAU TO MUNICH

Hitler, by Konrad Heiden

Hitler's genealogical background and early education.

What were the character of his experiences in Vienna? What influence did they have?

Discuss Hitler's role as a soldier.

What were the social and political questions that confronted certain Germans at the close of the war?

Trace Hitler's early experiences and rise in the National Socialist Party.

What use was made of propaganda?

How did the Party play the game of politics?

Describe the Munich Putsch.

2. FROM MUNICH TO BERLIN

Hitler, by Konrad Heiden

How did Hitler spend the period of his "imprisonment"?

Describe some of the problems in reestablishing the Party.

Were there internal strains in the Party?

What were Hitler's relations with industrialists?

In so far as possible, explain the political situation in Germany.

What was the nature of the quarrel with Strasser?

Point out the more important of Hitler's ideas.

What was the significance of the "purge"?

Give a short character sketch of Hitler.

Additional Reading:

Rauschnig, Hermann. *The Voice of Destruction.*

Hitler, Adolf. *Mein Kampf.*

Ludwig, Emil. *Three Portraits: Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin.*

Owen, Frank. *Three Dictators, Mussolini, Stalin, Hitler.*

Shirer, W. L. *Berlin Diary.*

Flannery, Harry. *Assignment in Berlin.*

Hagen, Paul. *Will Germany Crack?*

CHAPTER II

MEN ABOUT HITLER

No man stands alone! Regardless of how complete a dictatorship may be, the dictator will still be dependent upon his associates and friends. They will influence him in the reaching of decisions and in turn will be responsible for the enforcement of much of his policy. Next to the importance of the leader will be the importance of the foremost of his followers.

Of all the men who have risen to a prominent place in history none has been surrounded by as amazing—in several senses of that word—an *entourage* as has Hitler. Where else, for instance, would one find the abnormal counterparts of Goebbels, Ribbentrop, Goering, Ley and Rosenberg, to say nothing of the military figures who are now of great importance? At first glance they seem a motley assortment, yet from the paunchy, blustering Goering in his resplendent uniforms to the sinister Himmler they all display the same brutality and ruthlessness that characterize the Hitler regime. Even the seemingly normal, athletic Hess, Hitler's shadow until his spectacular descent into Scotland, must bear a share in the responsibility for the ideas expressed in *Mein Kampf* and for their execution. Without a knowledge of these men, one cannot understand Nazi Germany.

Of the books dealing with Hitler's henchmen, *Caesars in Goose-step* by William Bayles, a journalist with European experience, probably gives the liveliest picture. Mr. Bayles makes clear not only the positions and responsibilities of these men but also their personal habits and characteristics.

1. GOERING, HESS, GOEBBELS, AND RIBBENTROP

Caesars in Goose-step by William Bayles

Give something of Goering's history and personality.

Can you find any qualities in him that may explain his position as No. 2 in the Nazi Party?

What part did Hess play in the Party?

Discuss the part played by propaganda in the Hitler movement and the organizer of that propaganda.

What were some of Ribbentrop's contributions to Germany's foreign policy?

2. HIMMLER, LEY, ROSENBERG, AND THE MILITARY LEADERS

Caesars in Goose-step by William Bayles

To what extent is the Nazi movement based on the secret police? Is Himmler an efficient head of that organization?

What has been the lot of the German working man under the leadership of Ley?

What are the philosophical contributions of Rosenberg to the movement?

Describe some of the leading military figures.

MUSSOLINI

One country now fighting as an Axis partner of Germany lost the war for herself several years before it started. When Italy formed an alliance with Germany in 1935 she formed a political combination of fatal proportions. If war came and the Axis won, the victory would find Italy so far under the domination of her stronger and greater ally that political independence would have become a ghastly myth. Should the war be lost by the Axis powers, then Italy would suffer all of the penalties of defeat. By 1935 Italy had limited herself to two alternatives: domination by Germany or defeat by her opponents, and Mussolini had become definitely a dictator of but secondary importance. The military ineptness of Italy since the war was matched by her diplomatic ineptness before the war.

Because of this two-fold failure of Italian policy, Mussolini has become a pathetic figure on the European stage—a subject for contempt and ridicule. During the 20's and the first years of the 30's, however, Benito Mussolini loomed large on the stage of European politics. He was the pioneer of applied fascism. His energy, his attempts to regenerate Italy, and his emphasis upon a dynamic policy attracted many persons outside of Italy who gave him a certain measure of approval. Italian fascism appeared under the guise of energy and did not partake of the praise and practice of violence to the same extent as its counterpart in Germany. Although there was grave doubt as to the direction in which Italy was headed, there was some tendency to give Mussolini credit for doing as well as could be expected under difficult circumstances. Very few realized that the atmosphere of Europe was being saturated with a political and social philosophy that must ultimately result in an explosion of unexampled violence. As one of the originators of the fascist system, and as one of its earliest practitioners, the career of Mussolini has pertinence to a world in which fascism is the major menace.

The early life of Mussolini is depicted by Gaudens Megaro, an Italian scholar now living in America, while the part following the first World War can be estimated by combining Mussolini's autobiography with George Seldes' *Sawdust Caesar*. One is an idealized version, the other a critical portrayal of the man and events.

1. THE FORMATIVE PERIOD

Mussolini in the Making, by Gaudens Megaro

What were the formative influences in Mussolini's youth?

Describe his early socialist career.

Against what institutions was he in revolt?

From what sources did Mussolini draw his ideas?

Trace his rise in the socialist movement.

Upon what did he base his hatred of democratic, capitalistic society?

In a final summary point out the abilities that account for Mussolini's career as a leader.

2. IL DUCE

My Autobiography, by Benito Mussolini

Sawdust Caesar, by George Seldes

(Note: The questions have been based largely on *My Autobiography* but the reader should consult Seldes' version of the same events by using the index.)

What was Mussolini's attitude toward the first World War? What was the effect of the War upon Italy?

Mussolini's conception of the post-war social and political conflict.

How did the fascists take over the government?

What was their revolutionary program, once in power? Discuss the significance of the Matteotti affair.

What was the fascist attitude toward labour? religion? foreign affairs?

Describe the corporate society.

What was the significance of the conquest of Ethiopia upon Italy's future career?

Additional Reading:

Ludwig, Emil. *Three Portraits: Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin*.

Owen, Frank. *Three Dictators: Mussolini, Stalin, Hitler*.

CHAPTER IV

JAPAN

Most Americans watching the Japanese spread from island to island through the South Pacific and down the Malay Peninsula to Singapore were forced to the conclusion that we had been badly informed about our enemy. Here certainly was no exhibition of weakness and ineptitude. The Japanese gave every indication of being masters of offensive warfare. Their plans were well conceived and boldly executed. They possessed more than a touch of fanaticism and toughness that makes for the most formidable of opponents.

The "Hermit Nation" had been opened up by an American naval force under Perry in 1854. But it is apparent that while they learned much from and about us we learned little about them. That is now one of our greatest weaknesses. We are fighting an enemy who is largely unknown. Seldom have the Japanese entered the consciousness of our citizens in any intelligible way. Our attitude toward them can well be expressed by the phrase, used by Homer Lea, "the valor of ignorance."

We have been especially ignorant of the Japanese as persons. What were their beliefs and aspirations? What were their leaders like? What goals did they set for themselves as a nation? These questions were late in being asked and will not be soon or easily answered.

Frederick Moore, an American who served for a number of years as an adviser to the diplomatic corp of the Japanese government, attempts some of the answers in his recent book, *With Japan's Leaders*. The scene is in Washington and the Japanese foremost in the picture are Tokyo's ambassadors to the United States. Through them, however, much can be learned concerning the leadership of Japan as she approached the present war.

1. THE APPROACHING CONFLICT

With Japan's Leaders, by Frederick Moore, pp. 1-156

What was Moore's relationship with the Japanese government? Does his narrative seem unprejudiced and straight forward?

What was the nature of the conflict between the military and civil government of Japan?

Give sketches of some of the leaders as they occur in the book.

What attitude did Japan expect of us?

Was Saito sincere? Describe the personality of Matsuoka.

What was the importance of the alliance with Germany and Italy?

2. THE FINAL PHASE

With Japan's Leaders, by Frederick Moore, pp. 157-324

Did Nomura's appointment mean an increase in the tension between Japan and the United States? What was his personality?

What does Moore think of the Japanese alliance with Germany?

Describe the character of the new cabinet following the German attack on Russia.

Was Nomura informed of the intentions of his government?

How did he differ from Kurusu in character and temperament?

Does the last episode impress you with the inability of the individual to struggle against the march of events?

Evaluate the conflict in policy between the United States and Japan. Did Moore state the Japanese case as favorably for them as it could have been stated?

Additional Reading:

Byas, Hugh. *The Japanese Enemy*.

Johnstone, W. C. *United States and Japan's New Order*.

Mishima, S. S. *My Narrow Isle*.

Randau & Zugsmith. *The Setting Sun of Japan*.

Fleisher, Wilfrid. *Volcanic Isle*.

A FRENCH CONTRAST

The first profound shock of the war was the collapse of France in the late spring of 1940. Many Americans for the first time realized that a great country might be overcome as much by internal decay as by pressure from the outside. There was an apparent nervousness in the democratic world lest the virus of disintegration that had weakened France might also be at work in other countries. Thoughtful persons ameliorated their alarm by an attempt to diagnose the French malady, to discover its causes and symptoms, and to apply their findings to their own societies. In that investigation the suspicion arose that the evil that beset France could be personalized by the qualities that characterized one of the most influential of France's politicians—Pierre Laval.

Although this odium is undoubtedly too much for one man to bear, Laval can be selected as one of the best examples of vicious political trends that weakened the Third Republic. Not widely known before the war, his squinting eyes and untidy appearance have recently become as familiar to Americans as the double-dealing and corruption he personifies. Those interested in easy answers, however, must remember that Laval was as much a symptom as he was a cause of France's decline. Attention also should be called to the fact that our knowledge of Laval is based upon information of a controversial nature, though the known facts must condemn him as one of the most dangerous enemies of the democratic system.

But all of France was not composed of Lavals. The personality of de Gaulle still keeps alive the qualities of courage and patriotism that have long been associated with the history of France. The man who saw his revolutionary ideas on mechanized warfare—neglected by his own country—enable the enemy to conquer, has rallied what forces he could to continue the fight in the face of disaster. The men of the "Free French" movement, though hampered at every turn, have pledged their blood and their might for the redemption of France. The future may see a restoration in France of this spirit.

1. THE AUVERGNAT

Pierre Laval, by Henry Torrès

Describe the early life, background and education of Laval.

What was his role in the First World War? His associations with the French radicals?

By what route did Laval achieve power? Do you get the impression that this represented the normal political pattern?

What were Laval's relations with "big business"? Did his personal fortune improve?

Describe Laval's views on French foreign affairs.

Was Laval implicated in the Stavisky scandal?

What were Laval's views towards Germany? Italy?

Trace his political movements from 1936 to 1940.

Does the career of Laval serve as a commentary on the condition of France?

2. THE CROSS OF LORRAINE

Charles de Gaulle, by Philippe Barrès

Miracle on the Congo, by Ben Lucien Burman

Was the work of de Gaulle well known in Germany?

What were de Gaulle's conceptions of the military position of France? His idea of mechanized warfare?

Why were these ideas not adopted?

What part did he play in 1939 and 1940? What was his attitude toward a continuation of military resistance?

Trace the formation of the "Free French" movement. What success has it had?

What support has de Gaulle received from French associates?

What is your attitude toward the part played by de Gaulle?

WINSTON CHURCHILL

Those who claim to see an underlying rhythm in the course of history may feel some slight justification for their theory in the appearance of a member of the Churchill family as the leader of the English people in the present war. All must agree in the hope that Winston Churchill brings to his heavy duties the skill and leadership of his early illustrious ancestor, the Duke of Marlborough. Thus far no victories comparable to those of Blenheim and Malplaquet have gilded the fame of the present Churchill, but hope stirs that not all of the magic of the Churchill name has been exhausted and that the genius of the eighteenth century may still have a current vitality.

Although English politicians have frequently been characterized by a versatility that would be a matter for suspicion in this country, the present Prime Minister is one of the most gifted men of the present generation. Certainly few English leaders have ever gained a greater personal ascendancy over his fellow countrymen. Certainly no one of his generation in England has to the same degree captured the imagination of his followers. Above all no Englishman has ever contained within himself the combined hopes of the English people as has this half American who seems a connecting link between the English speaking worlds.

Even though, as these words are written, the defeats in the Far East and Libya have brought to England the darkest days since Dunkirk, and many Englishmen are calling for drastic reforms in the government and military conduct of the war, the prestige of Churchill seems undimmed. There is in Churchill a deposit of the traits of English character that have made that nation great; there is in Churchill the steadfastness that most Englishmen accept as the best guarantee of the future.

1. THE FORMATIVE YEARS

Mr. Churchill, by Philip Guedalla

What were the influences in the early life of Churchill? What position in life was he entitled to by family?

His early education and military experience.

What part did Churchill play in the Boer War? Was he successful as a journalist?

Point out the character of English politics at the turn of the century, and Churchill's political career. What policies did he support and advocate in the House of Commons?

His services in the First World War.

2. MATURITY AND LEADERSHIP

Mr. Churchill, by Philip Guedalla

What were the effects of the war upon Churchill?

Had the literary skill of Churchill matured?

Career as a critic of the peace years.

What role did he play in the immediate years before the Second World War?

What events brought him to the leadership of the war government?

Point out carefully Churchill's policies and services in the conduct of the war.

Additional Reading:

Kraus, René. *Winston Churchill*.

Lee, Jennie. *This Great Journey*.

"THE OTHER SIDE OF THE TRACKS"

The part played by Great Britain and the Empire in the War, dominated though it is by the personality of Churchill, has brought into sharp focus the endurance and heroism of the "little man." In the Trade Union movement and in the political career of the Labour Party the working classes of England have developed leaders of their own. Many of these men are now taking a full share in directing the efforts of the government in the prosecution of the war. Indeed some of the most vigorous members of the War Cabinet come from the ranks of the Labour Party, and in the coalition government leadership has been distributed on a wide social scale.

Not only do these leaders of the militant Labour Party represent an energetic attitude toward the war, but they stand as well for certain policies in the peace to come. Since the Party is the second largest in England, and its program has great imaginative appeal to the common people, the hopes for the future expressed by its leaders will receive serious consideration.

The American reader not versed in English political history will not recognize too many names amongst the Bevins, Greenwoods, Atlees, Alexanders, and Wilkinsons of the Labour movement. To some the history and the political significance of the Labour Party may be surprising. But to all will come the assurance that here is a vital part of the English political tradition and a valiant part of the present war effort.

1. THE LABOUR PARTY LEADERS

Bevin and Co., the Leaders of British Labour, by Patricia Strauss

Trace briefly the history and organization of the Labour Party.

Describe the characteristics of a general election and the work of the Labour Party in the House of Commons.

The role and qualities of Atlee?

Give a characterization of Greenwood.

How does Morrison's work in London fit into the national picture?

Does Ellen Wilkinson illustrate the possibilities for women in politics?

Is it surprising that a Labourite should be First Lord of the Admiralty?

What support does the Party have in the House of Lords? in diplomatic circles?

With Bevin as an example, point out the close relationship between the Labour Party and the Trade Union Movement.

2. THE BEVIN POSITION

The Balance Sheet of the Future, by Ernest Bevin

What does Bevin consider to be the true issues of the War?

What has been his basic philosophy in the management of labour?

Do you agree with his conception of democracy?

Point out Bevin's hopes for the world of the future.

Additional Reading:

Lee, Jennie. *This Great Journey*.

INDIA: GANDHI AND NEHRU

For many years Americans critical of English imperialism have used India as a shining example of the evils of empire. But few of those who condemned knew much of either England or India, for few were willing to undergo the mental discipline that an understanding of problems of this magnitude would demand. In the meantime India has gone slowly and tortuously on her road toward self-government. Today, however, the world scope of the present war has sharply focused the government of India and made acute a problem that was only critical. The threat from Japan made settlement essential, but it is difficult to see how a quick settlement can be made of an issue with such deep historical roots. There are times when the differences existing between peoples cannot be dissolved despite any amount of good will. In any case the Indian question will receive the best efforts of the democratic leaders, especially those of India's two remarkable advocates of self-government—Gandhi and Nehru.

The figure of Gandhi, the small, brown man sitting cross-legged in Asiatic fashion, is a familiar one. His philosophy and his policy of non-cooperation with England, however, are somewhat puzzling and awe-inspiring to western leaders. Nehru, the political leader, while more understandable, brings with him the atmosphere of a world where life and values are quite unlike our own. It is a tragic commentary on the culture of the democratic West that at a time when spiritual values are so greatly needed, the foremost spiritual leaders of the age should be of the East.

The life of Gandhi is best portrayed in a short biography—an old one by contemporary standards. It remains the best, however, because its author, Romain Rolland, himself represented one of the foremost spiritual forces of France before his self-imposed exile to India. Nehru tells us his own story in an excellent autobiography possessing not only a fidelity of treatment but much artistic skill.

1. THE GREAT SOUL

Mahatma Gandhi, by Romain Rolland

What services did Gandhi perform in Africa?

Explain his change from a position of cooperation with England to one of opposition.

Describe his religious and caste views.

What is his attitude toward the machine? toward violence?

What is meant by "Satyagrahi"?

Point out the modes of non-cooperation and its relations to Swadeshi.

What is his political program for women?

Do Gandhi's hopes for India include friendship for the West?

Describe the most interesting aspects of the non-cooperative movement.

2. THE GREAT DEMOCRAT

Toward Freedom: the Autobiography of Jawaharlal Nehru

What were the formative influences in the early life of Nehru?

Did Gandhi influence Nehru's political career?

Describe Nehru's participation in the non-cooperative movement.

In what ways did Nehru advance into the political leadership of his country?

Trace the steps toward Indian independence that were made at this time.

Describe the prison experiences of a political prisoner.

Compare and contrast Nehru with what you know of Gandhi.

Do you believe India is ready for complete independence?

Additional Reading:

Gandhi, M. K. *His Own Story*.

CHIANG KAI-SHEK

For almost five years without interruption—and for over ten years with but little pause—China has been defending herself against the armed forces of Japan. China has given a fine demonstration of a vast people, unprepared yet courageous, fighting against great military odds for the preservation of the right of national self-determination. As has so often been the case in history, the struggle of a people has been dramatically concentrated in the character and personality of a leader. Chiang Kai-shek stands as the focal point through which the efforts of China are directed against Japan.

The American people have regarded the Chinese with a certain admiration for years. We must look upon them now as an ally playing a vital part in the over-all strategy of winning the War. If the oldest and the youngest of the great nations are to cooperate effectively it is important that we understand the experiences that formed the present government of China and the forces that shaped its leadership. Fortunately for this purpose, the life of Chiang Kai-shek is very revealing, for it has touched every major movement in contemporary China. As a young man Chiang was one of the revolutionists who assisted in the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty. His military training and sound judgment made him a trusted advisor of the revered Sun Yat-sen and brought him into prominence in the new government. As originator of the New Life Movement he also contributed to the revitalization of new China.

It is of interest that during his lifetime the leadership of China reflects more than ever before the impact upon China of western culture. Chiang himself embraced Christianity and has recognized the fact that only through cooperation with the West can China be saved from her present danger. Even more pointed is the influence of his wife, who spent much of her early life and received her education in the United States. Together she and her husband typify the forces at work in China today.

1. THE NATIONAL REVOLUTION

The Strong Man of China, by Robert H. Berkov

Depict the influence in Chiang's early life and education. What were his first political and military experiences?

Trace his part in the Sun Yat-sen movement.

What role was the army to play in the revolutionary movement? Describe the split in the left and right wings. How was a measure of unity finally brought to China?

Describe the courtship and marriage of Chiang and Soong Mei-ling.

2. THE NEW CHINA

The Strong Man of China, by Robert H. Berkov

Comment upon Chiang's conversion to Christianity.

The internal history of China leading up to the war with Japan. What was Chiang's attitude toward Japan? What internal difficulties weakened China's strength at this time?

Give the eight principles of the "New Life Movement."

The movement for national unity.

What was the significance of the "kidnapping" of Chiang?

Describe his appearance and character.

CHAPTER X

STALIN

For a number of years Americans have seen news items and books that displayed prominently the name Stalin. Less often we have seen cartoons of a heavy man with a stubborn shock of hair, a walrus mustache and the inscrutable cast of the eyes which we associate with the Orient. Always there has been about him an air of ominous mystery that few of us have had any inclination to penetrate. In the days of the myth of isolation there seemed no need for a closer understanding. But today the clash of war has made this man of the Kremlin our most active and perhaps our most valuable ally. There seems no doubt that the United States and Russia must arrive at a better understanding of each other, and that one of the ways toward better understanding is an appreciation of the personal history of Stalin.

If anyone has ever questioned that we are in the midst of a revolutionary epoch he has but to contemplate the lives of Stalin, Chiang Kai-shek, Hitler and Mussolini. Certainly no other period of world history has ever offered a duplication of the revolutionary careers and accomplishments of these four men. Although two of them are fighting on the side of the so-called "democracies," their lives present a strange contrast to the traditional careers of Churchill and Roosevelt.

The reader must also bear in mind that these six men and the others considered typify not only themselves but with some fidelity the societies which they represent. The biographical approach to history and contemporary analysis may not be the easiest one, but it does offer certain insights into the life of a people that can seldom be gained in other ways. Stalin, then, must be understood not for his sake alone but for that of his people.

1. THE CLIMB TO POWER

Stalin, by Emil Ludwig

Stalin: A Critical Survey of Bolshevism, by Boris Souvarine

What were the important early influences in the life of young Stalin? Describe the nature of the radical movements in Russia during this period.

Trace the relationship between Stalin and Lenin before the revolution. What was Lenin's influence upon the revolutionary movement?

What early services did Stalin give to the Party?

What are the characteristics of a professional revolutionary?

What part did the war (1914-1917) play in the revolutionary movement?

Describe the struggle that led to the establishment of the political power of the Bolsheviks. Was Stalin important in this?

Trace the career of Stalin in the Socialist Republic up to the death of Lenin.

2. THE EXERCISE OF POWER

Stalin, by Emil Ludwig

Stalin: A Critical Survey of Bolshevism, by Boris Souvarine

What was the nature of the Stalin-Trotsky feud?

What was Stalin's attitude toward world revolution? the peasant problem? the industrialization of Soviet Russia?

Analyze the purpose of the Five Year plans. Does this reveal much about Stalin's conception of the nature of the revolution and the future of Soviet Russia?

What was back of the purges?

Do you agree with Souvarine's conclusions as to the strength and weaknesses of the Russian Revolution?

Additional Reading:

Levine, Isaac. *Stalin*.

Ludwig, Emil. *Three Portraits: Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin*.

Owen, Frank. *Three Dictators, Mussolini, Stalin, Hitler*.

Barbusse, Henri. *Stalin*.

Essad, Bey. *Stalin, the Career of a Fanatic*.

Davies, J. E. *Mission to Moscow*.

Kournakoff, Sergei. *Russia's Fighting Forces*.

Scott, John. *Behind the Urals*.

CHAPTER XI

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

To an American audience there should be no need to introduce President Roosevelt—no need, that is, if the presidency were not so surrounded by partisan actions and views that frequently the man occupying that high office is misunderstood by many citizens of the country. This became true especially during the period when the great domestic issue was a policy known as the "New Deal." During much of that same period the great international issues revolved about the degree of American responsibility toward the rest of the world. These issues were so bitter that Roosevelt appeared as two men, depending upon whether he was seen through the eyes of a political friend or foe.

Such a strong division of opinion is not a healthy one even under ordinary circumstances. In time of war it may threaten our very existence as a unified people. The bombing of Pearl Harbor brought a semblance of unity to American opinion. Without stirring up old controversies and prejudices it is worthwhile to solidify that feeling of unity by reviewing the political career of the President in an effort to revalue his motives and accomplishments in the light of what has since occurred. The book suggested for that purpose is Gerald Johnson's *Roosevelt: Dictator or Democrat?* This over-all view of Roosevelt's life, his personality and politics, by one of our most experienced and gifted journalists may lead to a fuller understanding of the man and his political work.

1. FROM HYDE PARK TO WASHINGTON

Roosevelt: Dictator or Democrat? by Gerald Johnson

What background does the author set up for his study of Roosevelt?

Point out the events of Roosevelt's early life that seemingly influenced his character.

How did Roosevelt get his political start? What were his relations with Josephus Daniels in the Navy Department? What were Roosevelt's services in the War of 1914-1918?

What were the influences of his serious illness?

In what way did the governorship of New York prepare him for the presidency?

Who were his friends and what influence did they have on the Convention of 1932?

2. THE PRESIDENT

Roosevelt: Dictator or Democrat? by Gerald Johnson

What was the doctrine of the "New Deal"? What were the most important of its legislative acts? Were these consistent with the party platforms?

Point out the essential features of the Supreme Court fight.

What were the outstanding international problems? What was Roosevelt's attitude toward these?

Try to evaluate Roosevelt's administrations in terms of what he tried to do and how well he succeeded.

CHAPTER XII

GENERAL DOUGLAS MACARTHUR

A short while ago the name of Douglas MacArthur was known to only a small part of our people. Those who knew of him recognized that he was a man of ability, but very few could have supposed that he would shortly become the nation's military leader, and in large measure a symbol of victory in the Far East. The initial stages of the war in the Pacific made of MacArthur a world figure, and millions became dependent upon an ability that had gone largely unnoticed.

The suddenness of MacArthur's ascendancy has one serious handicap for our purposes. It seemingly caught the American publishers as unprepared as the general public, and we shall have to rely for a time upon books hastily assembled if we are to get any picture at all of the hero of Bataan. The account *Men on Bataan* by John Hersey, an editor of *Time*, is better than the circumstances seemed to promise, and from it the reader may get a good picture of MacArthur, woven in with the account of the soldiers of his command and the task that confronted them.

1. A SOLDIER IN THE MAKING

Men on Bataan, by John Hersey

What attitude does Hersey take concerning his book?

What was the situation in Manila before Pearl Harbor?

Describe MacArthur's parentage.

His career at West Point.

Trace MacArthur's advancement.

What were his experiences in France?

2. THE MATURE SOLDIER

Men on Bataan, by John Hersey

Comment on MacArthur's views on military education.

What was the nature of his reply to the questionnaire answered by clergymen?

His attitude toward air power.

What was the nature of MacArthur's mission in the Philippines?

Describe his escape from Bataan.

Give a final estimation of his character and ability.

Additional Reading:

Miller, F. T. *General Douglas MacArthur*.

SPECIAL AND ADDITIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

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Barrès, Philippe	<i>Charles de Gaulle</i> . 1941. (5)	Doubleday	\$2.00
Bayles, W. D.	<i>Caesars in Goose-step</i> . 1940. (2)	Harper	3.00
Berkov, R. H.	<i>Strong Man of China</i> . 1938. (9)	Houghton	3.00
Bevin, Ernest	<i>Balance Sheet of the Future</i> . 1941. (7)	McBride	2.75
Burman, B. L.	<i>Miracle on the Congo</i> . 1942. (5)	John Day	1.75
Byas, Hugh	<i>The Japanese Enemy</i> . 1942. (4)	Knopf	1.25
Davies, J. E.	<i>Mission to Moscow</i> . 1941. (10)	Simon	3.00
Essad, Bey	<i>Stalin</i> . 1932. (10)	Viking	o. p.
Flannery, Harry	<i>Assignment to Berlin</i> . 1942. (1)	Knopf	3.00
Fleisher, Wilfrid	<i>Volcanic Isle</i> . 1941. (4)	Doubleday	3.00
Gandhi, M. K.	<i>His Own Story</i> . 1930. (8)	Macmillan	o. p.
Guedalla, Philip	<i>Mr. Churchill</i> . 1942. (6)	Reynal	3.00
Hagen, Paul	<i>Will Germany Crack?</i> 1942. (1)	Harper	2.75
Heiden, Konrad	<i>Hitler</i> . 1935. (1)	Knopf	3.00
Hersey, John	<i>Men on Bataan</i> . 1942. (12)	Knopf	2.50
Hitler, Adolf	<i>Mein Kampf</i> . 1939. (1)	Reynal	1.89
Johnson, Gerald	<i>Roosevelt: Dictator or Democrat?</i> 1941. (11)	Harper	3.00
Johnstone, W. C.	<i>United States and Japan's New Order</i> . Oxford 1941. (4)		3.00
Kournakoff, Sergei	<i>Russia's Fighting Forces</i> . 1942. (10)	Duell	2.50
Kraus, René	<i>Winston Churchill</i> . 1940. (6)	Lippincott	1.49
Lee, Jennie	<i>This Great Journey</i> . 1942. (6, 7)	Farrar	2.50
Levine, Isaac	<i>Stalin</i> . 1931. (10)	Cosmopolitan	o.p.
Ludwig, Emil	<i>Stalin</i> . 1942. (10)	Putnam	\$2.50
Ludwig, Emil	<i>Three Portraits</i> . 1940. (1, 3, 10)	Alliance	1.50
Megaro, Gaudens	<i>Mussolini in the Making</i> . 1930. (3)	Houghton	3.50
Miller, F. T.	<i>General Douglas MacArthur</i> . 1942. (12)	Winston	1.35
Moore, Frederick	<i>With Japan's Leaders</i> . 1942. (4)	Scribner	2.75
Mussolini, Benito	<i>My Autobiography</i> . 1939. (3)	Hutchinson	5/
Nehru, Jawaharlal	<i>Toward Freedom</i> . 1941. (8)	John Day	4.00
Owen, Frank	<i>Three Dictators</i> . 1941. (1, 3, 10)	Norton	2.50
Randau & Zugsmith	<i>The Setting Sun of Japan</i> . 1942. (4)	Random	3.00
Rauschnig, Hermann	<i>Voice of Destruction</i> . 1940. (1)	Putnam	2.75
Rolland, Romain	<i>Mahatma Gandhi</i> . 1924. (8)	Century	o. p.
Scott, John	<i>Behind the Urals</i> . 1942. (10)	Houghton	2.75
Seldes, George	<i>Sawdust Caesar</i> . 1935. (3)	Harper	o. p.
Shirer, W. L.	<i>Berlin Diary</i> . 1941. (1)	Knopf	3.00
Souvarine, Boris	<i>Stalin</i> . 1939. (10)	Alliance	3.75
Strauss, Patricia	<i>Bevin and Co</i> . 1941. (7)	Putnam	2.50
Torrès, Henry	<i>Pierre Laval</i> . 1941. (5)	Oxford	3.00

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Lippincott (J. B.) Co., 227 S. 6th St., New York.
McBride (Robert M.) & Co., 116 E. 16th St., New York.
Macmillan Co., 60 Fifth Ave., New York.
Norton (W. W.) & Co., Inc., 70 Fifth Ave., New York.
Oxford University Press, 114 Fifth Ave., New York.
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Random House, Inc., 20 E. 57th St., New York.
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Viking Press, Inc., 18 E. 48th St., New York.
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